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ABSTRACT

Three essays related to peace and security education in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) are presented. The first essay, "An Example of Controversial Themes in Education: Peace and Security," by Clemens Lessing, uses a 1980 controversial discussion of the Committee of the Cultural Ministry as an example of controversial themes in education. In this discussion, controversy between ministries in various lands in the FRG arose over a proposal that there should be more basic instruction in the schools concerning the duty of the federal government for defense and the necessity of service in the military to assure or defend the peace. One view emphasizes training for decision making and careful weighing of arguments, while another emphasizes the importance of learning controversial views about security and defense politics, encouraging students to draw a unified opinion from controversy. The second essay, "Analysis of Schoolbooks: Peace and Security," by Falk Pingel and Hanna Schissler, presents an overview of general coverage given to peace and security issues in secondary school political and social studies textbooks. Following a discussion of commonalities found among textbooks, the paper briefly discusses different approaches to dangers to the present peace, the phenonemon of war, aggression and power, alternative conceptions of peace, and coverage of specifically German issues. The final essay, "Military Duty and Conscientious Objection in a Controversy Theme for Political Education," by Hartmut Wasser, focuses on controversy resulting from two differing models of peace education, with "federal army/military duty" on one side and "conscientious objection/military service" on the other. Special instructional methodology concerning the study for military service and conscientious objection is provided. (LH)

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PEACE AND SECURITY EDUCATION

IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. THREE ESSAYS.

An Example of Controversial Themes in Education: Peace and Security--The Discussion in the KMK Committee of the Cultural Ministries, by Clemens Lessing

Analysis of Schoolbooks: Peace and Security, by Falk Pingel and Hann Schissler

Military Duty and Consciencious Objection in a controversy theme for Political Education, by Hartmut Kasser

Papers presented at the Joint Conference of the Social Science Education Consortium and the Bundeszentrale fur politische Bildung (Irsee, Bavaria, West Germany, June 18-22, 1984)

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Clemens Lessing

"An Example of Controversial Themes in Education: Peace and Security - The Discussion in the KMK (Committee of the Cultural Ministries)"

The Federal Republic of Germany is a federal system. The eleven states of the Federal Republic have a relationship to the Federation which limits some of their functions and duties. In many competency areas, the federal lands can only implement the mandate of the Federation. But in the area of education and culture, the lands have an unlimited competency. In this area the federal government has a competence for higher education and professional education which it can only implement in cooperation with the land.

The cultural authority of the lands creates the danger that the school system and the higher education system of the individual lands can develop too separately. Therefore, right from the beginning in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, the various lands decided on a voluntary cooperation and created a Standing Conference of the Cultural Ministers of the various lands in the Federal Republic. Matters which have a common meaning concerning school and higher education are considered and decided in the Committee of the Cultural Ministers. Decisions can only be reached when there is a unanimous agreement. Preparations for such decisions in the Committee led to the creation of four standing sub committees: one for schools, one for higher education, one for art and adult education, and one for foreign school matters. These four sub committees are staffed with leading officials from the various federal lands. An example of their work would be the common concern of the states in the School Committee concerning "the German Question" in instruction. There a unity was achieved concerning this highly controversial political subject, and a discussion outline was prepared.

In the 201st Plenary Discussion of the Cultural Ministers' Committee in Freiburg, the Federal Minister for Defense, Hans Apel (SPD) spoke on 12 May 1980 in favor of much more basic instruction in the schools concerning the duty of the federal government for defense and the necessity for service in the military to assure or defend the peace. One background factor for his request was the demonstration against the public swearing in of recruits for the federal army in Bremen. Also contributing to his attitude were the discussions about NATO and, above all, the considerable increase in conscientious objection, especially by graduates with the Abitur (Graduation from Gymnasium) and the increasing fascination with the peace movement among the youth. The defense minister requested that the culture ministers stimulate the schools to instruct the students in their duty to promote security and the defense of the Basic Law by the federal army and the importance of the army's role in the state as described in the Basic Law.

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In contrast to the normal method of the School Committee, where an outline or position committee would be prepared by two cultural ministries of opposing political parties, this was not done. Instead, the cultural minister from Baden-Wurttemberg and the minister from Rheinland-Phalz prepared position papers for a discussion with the cultural ministers from Hessen and Northrhein-Westphalia. Thereby they attempted to establish their positions clearly. Through an indiscretion drafts of these papers were leaked to the press and this led to an opposing draft from the cultural ministers of Hessen and Northrhein-Westphalia and thereby a miscommunication arose which went counter to the original intention of achieving a unity and turned the consultations of the Committee of the Cultural Ministers into a major controversy. Despite long and patient negotiations, it was impossible for a unity to be drawn out of this controversial situation. In fact the opposite occurred which produced a picture that the Committee of the Cultural Ministers was torn asunder in the controversy. The hefty discussion in the press and the media gave the impression that the peace education in Germany was of two kinds and was determined by whether the school was in a SPD or CDU/CSU land.

The differences between the recommendations of the cultural ministers and the senators of the lands of Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen and Northrhein-Westphalia on the topic of "Peace Education in the Schools" and the draft of the cultural ministers and senators from the lands Baden-Wurttemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Lower Saxony, Rheinland-Phalz, Saar, Schleswig-Holstein on the theme "Military Service and Defense of the Peace in Education" lay mostly in the choice of themes. While the CSU/CDU cultural ministers spoke on the theme of peace very briefly and then only to use it for their recommendations for defense and support of the army and its role in the Federal Republic of Germany, the SPD cultural ministers used the whole topic to promote the theme of Peace Education. Thereby they went way beyond the original intentions of the Defense Minister Apel.

Both drafts began with the role of the federal army as seen in the Basic Law. However, the SPD draft was rather cool about military. In the CDU/CSU cultural ministers' draft, the problem of conscientious objection to military service is portrayed as an individual decision, while the duty to military service is a collective duty. In the SPD draft, great emphasis was laid on the defense of free choice and the seriousness of conflict situations.

From an educational point, the CDU draft emphasised training for decision making and careful weighing of the arguments, more strongly while the SPD draft emphasized the controversial views about security and defense politics and encouraged the students to know how they could draw a unified opinion from the controversy.

Both drafts differentiated themselves with rhetorical nuances and goal-oriented viewpoints. These differences then

became publicly intensified in light of the heated discussion about the NATO arms controversy.

Falk Pingel, Hanna Schissler
"Analysis of Schoolbooks: Peace and Security"

I. A selection of commonly used schoolbooks for politics and social studies education was analysed for the secondary school step 1. The books investigated have neither a unified design nor a single conceptual schema. Nonetheless, in the rule they generally begin with the family and then discuss the national organizations and national economy, the system of law and media; from here they continue on to examine the relationship between states and then in the last part of the books, they generally have some chapters on peace and security and war.

II. The dangers to the present peace are generally explained, above all by examining the East/West conflict and weapons technology. In connection with this there is generally a description of the two ruling military blocks, NATO and the Warsaw Pact (other military treaties are not mentioned) and the arms race (often with statistics concerning the weapons production or weapons collections).

The terror doctrine and its dangers are generally mentioned. Often the point is made that at the end of the second world war there was intent to use international cooperation to get conflicts moved out of the way and yet out of it the East/West conflict emerged. They include the founding of the United Nations, recommendations for limits on weapons and reductions. However in other cases, the United Nations is described outside of its historical connections and merely the institutions are explained (the organizations and statutes).

The second important structural area of conflict is seen as the North/South opposition. Above all, one sees in this area dangers of civil wars which sometimes emerge out of social tension, but it is also mentioned that such civil wars can easily be pulled into the East/West conflict.

The politics of development are generally seen as a means of conflict resolution or conflict diminution and thereby considered an indirect contribution to peace. As an example of war above all the Viet Nam War and the Middle East War are described.

Especially the Palestinian Conflict serves to illustrate the difference in historical outlooks: causes of war which emerge from historical background, the possibility of intervention by the great powers by linking the issue with the larger East/West conflict, further, the intervention of the United Nations and finally the discussion of chances for peace. Because the different options for peace and coexistence in the Near East are presented, the students are placed in the situation to examine the contemporary events and differentiate between causes of them. In no book are simplistic solutions presented that have no chance for realisation.

III. The approach to the phenomenon of war is presented quite

differently in the various books, but in none of them does one find the promotion of war. Considering the terrible sacrifices and endless destruction in modern wars including the danger to civilian population, and in light of the dangers of an atomic world war, all books agree in the rejection of war as a means for politics. Sometimes the books mention that this judgement did not occur or was not the same in other periods (Clausewitz-Citations) and even that there could be exceptions today. For example in the case of a war of liberation; in this case new books cite situations in Central America (Nicaragua/Ernesto Cardenal).

The description of specific zones of conflict serve to describe the many-sidedness and the many causes of wars (social, religious, national disagreements) and further to describe different ways to peace.

It is very difficult to transmit the obvious dangers of an atomic world war. Most books demonstrate this by referring to weapons technology and atomic overkill; few cite the historical examples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The largest differences appear in the presentations about disarmament and detente, two themes which no book ignores. Many books limit themselves to the simple naming of the disarmament conferences and treaties and merely give citations from that. As an example of peace policies, very often the government of Willi Brandt and his Ostpolitik is mentioned as well as the diplomatic negotiations President Carter exerted in the Middle East conflict.

IV. The securing of peace is not only described as a problem between nations. Aggression and power are found in private relationships between individuals and between social and political groups. Whether and in what form force should be used and how it relates to the various methods of use:

-Should the textbook present to the student the unproven but suggested hypothesis that the causes for forceful conflict between states depend on personal or private demeanor (for example, a presentation of agression in the school and then agression between peoples).

-Another approach, would be to present concurrently different aggression theories which divide different forms of force. A definitive description of these hypothesis at the level of international conflict can hardly be given definitively. Only a few books consider the theme of aggression in their chapter on freedom in such a way as to define a relationship of the individual behavior to the international behavior as force. They describe in the following form that direct cause of war appears in education (in the family or in state institution) the schooling is not related directly to forces but has influence directly on the population's willingness to go to war and to be influenced by war leaders.

V. Only a very few-and that's the newest ones-of the textbooks address alternative conceptions of peace (for example, the "gradualism" and the peace research) in order to expand the possibilities of peace security and peace consciousness of the present. Alternative political conceptions which are not promoted by the official western politics (for expamle an atomic free zone in Europe or neutralism) also seldom mentioned. The peace enthusiasm outside of the institutional politics (the peace movement) is also seldom cited. This last may be an evidence simply of the appearance of the book. One book that appeared in 1983 has taken this perspective on and has chosen as a title for one of its chapters the slogan " Frieden schaffen - ohne Waffen" (create peace without weapons.) However, a question mark is included.

The domestic politics and economic implications of defense weapons is seldom mentioned: the military-industrial complex, the export of weapons as an interal economic factor of industrial lands and the cost factor for recipient lands. When the military- industrial complex is named it is usually pointing at the USA, seldom at West Germany. Rather regularly a critical description is given of the alternative ways and the enormous outputs of armaments. Alternative interventions, however, are always considered as possible supports for development, and in no case is the solution looked at as an intra-structure problem. The comparison of armament's budgets with social service's budgets is very common. It is not common to show graphically the relevance of the states' support budget in this debate.

VI. The specitic German situation is outlined in the emphasis of the policy of detente, often the most important treaties are mentioned and cited. Military service and the right to alternative service are often, but not always, named. The students are encouraged to develop their own opinions in this area of controversy. The historical explanations are omitted most often and even for the detente policies and for the rearmament of Germany, which could be understood by considering the internal political situation of that time as a theme for historical instruction.

Professor Dr. Hartmut Wasser
"Military Duty and Conscientious Objection in a controversy theme for Political Education."

I. The Political Debate About the Correct "Education for Peace."

In November, 1970 the Chancellor, Willi Brandt, asked the conference of the minister presidents of the lands to concern themselves "that the necessary factors and problems of national defense receive more attention and more respect in the schools." Partly because of the federalistic structure of the education system of the Federal Republic of Germany, the conflict over this request has not diminished to this very day. The front line of this fundamental disagreement has run essentially along the borders delieneated by the lands which are led by the SPD versus the lands led by the CDU. In each of these a whole list of interest groups have orchestrated the controversy. The conflict stems above all from three general categories of this case: #1) the general disagreement about the schools' role in political education. #2) the political disagreements about social scientific positions and the analytical context which is relevant for their conceptual analysis. #3) The differing positions that result from the disagreement in #2 taken by the CDU group and the SPD cultural ministeries in each land concerning the constitutinally mandated educational themes "Federal Army/Military duty" on one side, "Conscientious objection/military service." The conflict has, in the meantime, separated itself into two differing models for peace education: the students will be confronted with differing concepts of peace, differing concepts of security, and differing forms of military service, specifically the problems of conscientious objection according to whichever federal land they live in.

Where there is a partisan political conflict among the school ministries , especially if it is an attempt to promote a critical rational discussion, the different positions will often be represented by interest groups that are sometimes intensely polemical, including simplistic slogans and ideological motivations. When that's the case one side will speak intensely about militarization and wish to promote military service propaganda in the schools where the other side will talk about the terrorism of war with a defeatist view and the utopian dream of peace.

II. Methodoligical comments about the theme cluster "Military Service and Conscientious Objection." Instructional methodology concerning this study must include considerations of the following:

1. A higher student motivation in connection with the implementation of the teaching plans.

2. An intensification of emotions and polarization of the students in discussions of these relevant themes which may lead to the development of many stereotypes.

3. Extensive deficits of knowledge and information blankets in the area of instruction. In consideration of the intensive emotionalizing of this topic, there is seldom lack of readiness to discuss it but seldom much objectivity arises over this topic. Many students would prefer to make judgments simply from their ideological standpoint.

4. The extensive complexity of the instructional material should exclude "simple solutions" and necessitates a variety of judgements.

5. The bias of the teachers and the lack of teacher preparation in this theme intensifies the difficulties of the preparation and implementation of an instructional model on this information.

III. Suggestions for Possible Instructional Goals or Learning Goals on the Theme "Military Duty and Conscientious Objection."

In view of the defined instructional context in Section II, the political education teacher has the following goals before him:

1. To develop the capabilities of the students to make decisions through a process of rationalism.

2. To develop the students' ability to objectify his or her own motivations and to evaluate them in a larger context.

3. To transmit knowledge about the controversial positions on the themes of peace and problems of security, specifically military duty and conscientious objection so that students may objectively and rationally weigh them, helping them to avoid emotionalization stereotypes and self-justification.

Such learning goals allow teachers to establish differentiated catalogs of finer goals concerning the phenomenon army and military duty, specifically conscientious objection and civilian service. Without such goals the student simply has had an incomplete entry point in the political curriculum and the practice of political education in the complex school system of the Federal Republic.

Siegward Hausbei

Thesis toward a co-presentation on the theme "Controversial Themes in Instruction - Example: Peace and Security - Military Service and Conscientious Objection"

The concrete goals, content and instructional methods for teaching the topic"Peace and Freedom - Military Service and Conscientious Objection" go in many directions and differ immensely. In the planning and implementation in consideration of the instruction for this theme, the teacher must raise very critical questions about what motives concerning this theme are most significant in his instruction and which goals are to be followed (the official goals or the "hidden curriculum"). In reflecting on his instruction to the theme "Military Service and Conscientious Objection", the teacher must be very aware of the social and political context of this issue.

-the debate in the Committee of the Cultural Ministers and in the public about peace education in the school or the Federal Army and peace security in instruction;

-the legitimacy crisis and the practical security policies and the strength of the increasing peace movement;

-the concern of the politicians in the Defense Ministry about the defense readiness and defense willingness of the citizens and their concerns about the increase in numbers of conscientious objectors;

-the criticism about the political and legal interpretation about the fundamental right for conscientious objection (basic right system with a priority numbering choice "numerous clausus" or: how did a fundamental right gradually get degraded into an exceptional right?)

-the fact that as a result of the unsolved problems of technological change, unemployment (especially youth unemployment), intensified through the political crisis and affairs of the ecological crisis (Waldsterben), eventually can grow into a total rejection;

-finally, the existence in East Germany of a school subject called "Defense Studies."

In my opinion, these significant arguments must be taken up in the framework of the handling of the theme "Military Duty and Conscientious Objection" as an open discussion and correlated questions in subjective and objective interests of the students. It appears to me to not be educationally or professionally respectable to present a one-sided instruction which reduces the complexity of this subject to a simplicity where the problems will get lost. For example, if one reduced the instruction to simply the legal questions or the defense aspects, this would give the students only a specific security political concept

instead of the plurality of perspectives and positions bearing upon this issue. I believe that we must approach the theme "Military Duty and Conscientious Objection" from a wider perspective of the concepts of peace and security. Also as a part of this theme, political education must pursue and support the students' ability to make judgements and differentiate on the basis of the most widely inclusive examination of problems in conjunction with the firm knowledge of the institutions, the Basic Law and the legal system which bring light to the problems and can add to the instruction. In considering or developing judgements, the students must have information on the constitutional and legal foundation of the defense policy of the Federal Republic in the framework of NATO and this information must also be linked to the political dilemmas that are there included (defense dilemmas, arms race dilemmas, and resource dilemmas).

In considering the right of conscientious objection, it must be made clear to students that the legal right to reject serving with weapons on the basis of conscience is a fundamental basic right. It must also be made clear that the constitutional guarantee depends upon the intangible worthiness of the individual and the authenticity of his conscience, without which the defense of conscientiousness of individuals under all circumstances will be eliminated. In dealing with the right of conscientious objection, there should be included a consideration of the history of this right, including such things as the evolution of the right and a criteria for testing the conscience. One should also consider the civilian service with as much objectivity and freedom from prejudice as possible to neutralize the many biases about it.

In presenting the information, the teacher must come to terms with the problem of how he can help his students deal with problems clearly which are often suppressed, and if they have conscience needs, how the teacher can help them express and make understandable those things that are most sensitively inside them.